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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawĕyāin*, I go now (*mawĕkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánnāin*, I go away now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Áwán ɔawádmo*? (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

[276]

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kĕláy*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kĕláy* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kĕláy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mańímud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dênu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kélay*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained texts giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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4. M.: Would you not, companion, like it, if you were those (who ask for it).
W.: We are grateful indeed if it is like that.

5. M.: Surely you do not like though to prepare betel for somebody.
W.: Yes indeed, if it is for you.[27]

6. M.: If so thus you do not like to distribute your betel (for chewing).
W.: Do we know if you like betel that crept over the ground.[28]

7. M.: You would not like it, woman, if it is you (who want betel).
W.: Yes, you say so only, 'you', like this.

8. M.: I will not resent it though, even though it be betel that crept over the ground.
W.: If you do not resent it, do not repent thus when I prepare betel for you.

9. M.: How can we do it then, companion.
W.: What is really the matter with your thinking, 'you', like this.

10. M.: It depends on my thought, 'you', which is in my head, is it not?
W.: If it depends on your thought, 'you', thus you do not think of somebody else.

11. M.: To whom could I finally belong if not to this one.
W.: I am a woman, 'you', without use.

12. M.: Why is your thought put upon the roof like this.
W.: Would to God my thought were put upon the roof.

13. M.: That is only what you do, is it not, 'you'.
W.: Would my fault not be big if I acted like this.

14. M.: Yes indeed, companion, but I am the one who is here.
W.: Ah, not so thus, but I say so though.

15. M.: Prepare betel for me though, really, 'you', won't you?
W.: How can we know, companion, if your thought like this will be permanent.

[27] I do not want to do it for you.

[28] Betel that crept up along a stalk, etc. is the only one considered good by the Isneg.

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What has been said of the *aliwá* or hatchet as a man's tool, may also be said of the *ikó* as a woman's tool: no Isneg woman goes to work without her *ikó*, which is nothing else but a diminutive headaxe, usually of the *binarawád*-type, and which she carries stuck in her headband. While she makes use of several other implements, as the occasion demands, the *ikó* is the only one that is almost constantly needed.

The handle of the *ikó* is ordinarily made of wood, like the helve of the *aliwá*,[8] but there are a few women who make use of the *kiraddân*, which is all iron. The latter type of *ikó* has a curved handle, and its ring or *palábo* is mostly spherical, instead of being cylindrical like that of the ordinary *ikó* and of the *aliwá* or headaxe.

Some of these *ikó* are exceedingly small, the length of the blade (not its breadth) being about one half of that of an ordinary penknife: these are called *paílôt*. A small *ikó* that is very old and has seen much service, is called *pakiurât*: its handle is always made of wood, and consequently straight.

Other implements used by Isneg women will be treated in their proper place.

When an Isneg woman works in the field, she is rarely seen without her *saríkaw*, which is a very broad hat, sometimes one yard or more in diameter, almost flat, and more or less resembling a native winnow. The *saríkaw* is made of plaited palm leaves trimmed with strips of bamboo or of rattan or of both.

In order to avoid tedious repetitions I think it not amiss to give here a short description of the *inapúxān* or betel for chewing, which the Isneg frequently offer to the spirits and which I shall have to mention again and again in the course of this paper. The ordinary *inapúxān* as used by the Isneg, consists of a section of betel nut (*bowá*) and a sprinkling of lime (*ápug*) enveloped in a piece of betel leaf (*zawád*), while the one offered to the spirits, although essentially the same, has a few special characteristics.

When preparing *inapúxān* for the spirits, instead of using ripe betel nuts, which are the only ones fit for chewing, the Isneg choose a bunch of immature nuts (*lúsit*), and these they cut into tiny pieces (*riŋgám*), which are much smaller than those used for betel chewed by man. The lime is the same as that used in ordinary *inapúxān*:

[8] Cf. op. cit.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*xawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taxímmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buníln* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bibig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taxímmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *tahúb*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúran* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidán* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidán* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakáu* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *daúlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúúay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padáyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Daláyāy: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakán*, for instance the *damáro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers. The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *andy*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *padyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaĩñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412